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ART. III. — *Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos, que hicieron por Mar los Españoles desde fines de Siglo XV., con varios Documentos inéditos concernientes á la Historia de la Marina Castellana y de los Establecimientos Españoles en Indias, coordinada é ilustrada por Don MARTIN FERNANDEZ DE NAVARRETE, Caballero de la Orden de San Juan, &c. Tom. I. — VI. Madrid. 1825 — 1837. 8vo.*

WE rejoice to perceive, that, notwithstanding the disastrous civil war raging in Spain, this great national work is still carried on by its learned author, and we earnestly hope it may not fail of completion.* The fifth and sixth volumes relate to Spanish voyages in the Pacific, ending with that of Loaysa. We avail ourselves of the occasion to do justice to the character of Spain, in a matter deeply important to the United States.

There is no European government, which, in its relations with other civilized powers, either in Europe or America, is so loud in its professions of disinterestedness and moderation, as that of Great Britain. For twenty years, it persevered in a war of strenuous hostility against Napoleon, because he was a conqueror, and therefore dangerous to the peace and liberty of nations. Even if Napoleon carried his arms into Egypt, and away from the territory and states of Europe, still England relentlessly pursued him thither. Nay, when France had run her race, and had been thoroughly beaten and humbled by the coalesced arms of all Europe; when she had ceased to be an object of dread or suspicion to surrounding powers; and when, at such a period, she proceeded to inflict punishment, well deserved and too long delayed, on the piratical state of Algiers, and that insignificant country fell into her power by the just right of war; — Great Britain undertook to demand of her that she should abstain from holding it, made it cause of sober diplomatic remonstrance, and indulged at home in the most extravagant complaints against her, because she had presumed to make a single petty conquest in Africa. And, whenever Russia has happened to engage in war with Turkey, or any of the lesser

* For notices of the first two volumes, see *North American Review*, Vol. XXIII. pp. 484 *et seq.*, Vol. XXIV. pp. 265 *et seq.*

states around the Black Sea, the English press and the English Parliament have been thrown into a perfect ecstasy of horror at the ambitious and encroaching spirit, which (they allege) animates the councils of the Czar.

Meanwhile, in the midst of all these *professions*, what has been the actual conduct of Great Britain? That government has, for more than half a century, pursued a career of conquest by force of arms, on a scale of magnificence unparalleled in the history of modern nations, and scarcely surpassed by the Roman Republic. To be satisfied of this, and without reckoning the colonial establishments she has formed in the new continent of Australia, and which she has scattered all over the globe in other countries considered barbarous, like the coasts of Africa and America, and the islands of the Indian, Pacific, and Atlantic seas, — without reckoning these, which alone constitute a vast empire in extent and resources, — to be satisfied of the ambitious career of Great Britain, we have only to advert to the fact, that, within the one hundred years last past, she has got possession of Malta and the Ionian Islands in Europe, of the Cape of Good Hope, covering a great part of Southern Africa, and of numerous kingdoms and nations in Asia, containing a population of about *one hundred and thirty million* inhabitants. That is to say, during the period assumed, she has made conquests at the average rate of *a million and a half of souls per annum*; all these conquests, moreover, having been mere money-getting speculations of trade.

We do not complain of this. We only state the fact. Whether it be right and just for Great Britain, or any other power, to subjugate half the world by unprovoked war; whether it be consistent and honorable to be for ever preaching abstinence, and liberality, and beneficence, and good faith in Europe, and to be for ever practising the reverse of all this in Asia; are questions we leave to the unbiassed judgment of mankind. We do not discuss them here. Nor, though Great Britain should proceed to consummate the enterprise, which it is said she has just now entered upon, of invading and dismembering Persia; though she should make her way into China, as she did into India, by asking space of land for a trading factory, and taking a great empire to supply it, — by pretending commerce, and pursuing conquest; and though, by the same combination of proved and confessed fraud and force, by which she has gained one hundred and

thirty million subjects in the latter, she should gain other one hundred and thirty millions in the former ; even then, we do not know that the United States have any lawful ground of umbrage at the continued march of her dominion. But we have good cause to complain, — it is our right and our duty, — when the same system of universal aggrandizement is carried by her into the affairs of North America. The mischief is then brought home to our own doors, and it behoves us to look to it.

We make these remarks in no unfriendly spirit towards Great Britain, but simply for the sake of our own national rights, in the defence of which we mean that this Journal shall continue to speak out plainly and fearlessly, as it always has done ; believing that nothing is gained to the cause of peace by the timid suppression of the truth.

During the whole time which has elapsed since the restoration of peaceful and (to both parties) beneficial relations between Great Britain and this country, that government has been insensibly and quietly obtaining the wrongful possession of extensive portions of the United States, namely, a part of the State of Maine, and the wide territory of Oregon. We do not propose, at the present time, to enter into a discussion of our rights in this matter. We have done this already in previous volumes ; and, in regard to one of the questions at least, — the northeastern boundary, — in very ample detail. Moreover, the recent discussions in Congress of the latter question, and the unanimous resolutions of both Houses, affirming the rights of the United States, have rendered it the less necessary. And, in regard to the other, — the northwestern boundary, — our object at present is, not to go over that either, but only to investigate a single one of the important points involved in it, and that rather an incidental point.

This great question, also, has recently been called up in Congress, and our readers may rest assured, that it will not be suffered to go to sleep there. Our title, it is sufficient for the purpose now to observe, is founded partly on our rights by discovery, exploration, and possession. But we have other sources of title, and, more especially, the right under the Florida Treaty ; by which, in consideration (among other things) of our cession to Spain of our pretensions west of the River Sabine, Spain ceded to us all her pretensions north of the forty-second parallel of latitude. We propose

to show that, independently of our own intrinsic rights, and so far as discovery or exploration could confer rights on any other power, that power was *Spain*, to the exclusion of Great Britain.

It has been the policy of Great Britain to depreciate the rights of Spain in this respect. That was natural, and in the ordinary course of things, for the government to do. But the injustice of the government of Great Britain towards that of Spain, in this thing, has entered into and poisoned the literature of Great Britain. Her geographers have extensively pursued the system of suppressing the names given to capes, rivers, and inlets, on the northwestern coast of America, by early Spanish navigators, and substituting the names given to the same localities by later English navigators ; so that the maps convey the false implication of prior discovery on the part of the latter nation. Nor is this all. There is, in many of the English books of geography, a practice of dwelling at much length on the English voyages, and either touching slightly, or wholly omitting, those performed under the authority of Spain.

We have a most notable instance of this now before us, in a popular work, entitled “ Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in the Polar Seas and Regions,” by Professor Leslie, Professor Jameson, and Hugh Murray, Esquire, of Edinburgh; names which ought to be a warranty for the truth, and the whole truth. This book, the historical part of which was written by Mr. Murray, contains the following paragraph ;

“ Spain, which had made the discovery of America, and from that success derived so much glory and wealth, might have been expected to take a peculiar interest in every thing connected with its farther exploration. The fact, however, appears to be, that, revelling among the rich plains and glittering treasures of Mexico and Peru, she felt little attraction towards the bleak confines of the northern pole. Only one very early voyage is mentioned, that, namely, by Gomez, with a view of discovering a shorter passage to the Molucas. He is said to have brought home a few of the natives ; but no record is preserved, either of the events which attended his enterprise, or even of the coast on which he arrived. There remains of it, as has been observed, only a jest, and one so indifferent as not to be worth repeating. The chief exertions of Spain for a passage, were made from Mexico along the northwest coast of America ; but these we do not propose to include in the present narrative.”

Is it just, in a book purporting to give a *general* account of discovery in the northwestern seas of America, thus to slur over the voyages of other nations? Is it consistent with *common honesty*? "The chief exertions of Spain were made from Mexico along the northwest coast of America; but these we do not propose to include in the present narrative." And why not? The next sentence tells. "Britain," it says, "now took up this train of discovery, and made it almost exclusively her own." What? have Russia and Spain done nothing to explore the northwest coast? France nothing? The United States nothing? It would seem so, according to this book; for Russia, important as her northwestern voyages have been, is treated by Mr. Murray still more cavalierly than Spain. To be sure, the Preface apologizes for the omission to give "an account of the expeditions performed *by land or in boats*, to ascertain the northern boundaries of America and Asia;" but this explanation cannot apply to the great nautical explorations of Russia and Spain. Well might this copartnership of authors say of the Spanish voyagers from Mexico, "These we do not propose to include in the present narrative;" for, if they had been included, they would have proved, that instead of Britain having "made it almost exclusively her own," Spain and Russia had done as much at least in this respect as Great Britain.

But then what shall we say to the solemn and circumstantial statement, that Spain furnishes only one very early voyage (that of Gomez) to the northern seas? Was this ignorance? It must have been. Yet, as authentic accounts existed, and those very curious and interesting ones, of *several* early Spanish voyages, the total ignorance exhibited in this particular, is not less remarkable than the bad faith betrayed in the other. And this is history, the history of American affairs, by British writers! There is another popular modern work, the "History of Maritime and Inland Discovery," in Lardner's "Cabinet Cyclopædia," wherein we shall have occasion, by and by, to signalize the same kind of suppression in regard to the enterprises of other nations, while every English expedition of the least note, national, commercial, or piratical, is described with edifying particularity. They are no unapt examples of the political tendency of that modern

English literature, which constitutes the chief reading of the people of the United States.

In addition to the great mistake, or misrepresentation, pervading the passage cited, which will appear from the narrative we shall presently give, it contains others, of less importance, but of the same complexion.

The first sentence implies a volume of untruth, namely, that Spain took no particular interest in the general exploration of America. The reverse is the fact. All our most familiar histories, as the writings of Robertson, Irving, and Southey, abound with details of the extraordinary daring, perseverance, and disregard of hardship and personal suffering, with which the Spaniards pursued the exploration of the coasts, mountains, rivers, and interior wilds of the entire continent of South America, in the period immediately following its discovery. These incidents are now incorporated in the popular literature of all Europe ; and not to know them, argues a singular ignorance of American history and geography. Nor, in later times, has the government of Spain been neglectful of such objects. The treasures of the *Depósito Hidrográfico*, at Madrid, as we ourselves know from personal examination, may well compare with what even modern France or England has done of this kind ; and quite put to shame the as yet imperfect efforts of the United States in the same line. It is true, Spain did not, in the middle period of her empire over the New World, make *ostentation* of the voyages or journeys of exploration in South America, undertaken by her people. The accounts of many of these remained unpublished in the archives of the government. The reason of this is obvious. The piratical expeditions of other European powers, and especially of England, against the settlements in the Spanish colonies, — expeditions in all respects resembling the ravages of the old Danes and Normans along the coasts of Holland, England, and France, — these enterprises, in connexion with the contraband trade of the same nations, and their continual attempts to wrest from Spain her colonies by force, compelled her to adopt a policy of reserve and partial concealment, in regard to her possessions in America. But there is an end of all this, since the separation of those colonies from the mother country ; and Professor Leslie and his associates could have known this, if they had sought the knowledge in the proper quarter.

As to North America, the case is still stronger. We reserve the Pacific side of it for detailed explanation ; and it will then be seen, whether “the glittering treasures of Mexico and Peru” withdrew the attention of Spain from “the bleak confines of the northern pole.” But neither did Spain neglect the Atlantic side of North America. To say nothing of minor expeditions into the interior of the United States, it is sufficient to indicate the remarkable one of Hernando de Soto, who spent several years at the head of an army, exploring the whole of the vast region now occupied by the Southern States.* Spain, however, could not supply men to colonize the entire New World at once ; in the progress of events, the northeastern parts of it fell into the hands of England and France ; and of course these two nations were more naturally impelled to explore the coasts of their own possessions. But Spain had her share in the earlier discoveries. Forster even suggests whether the Biscayans, in common with the Bretons, had not visited Newfoundland prior to the voyage of Columbus.† But Navarrete, with his accustomed candor, after careful inquiry into this point, comes to the conclusion, that such is not the fact ; and that the resort of the Biscayans to the Grand Bank, dates only from the voyage of Esteban Gomez.‡

England has the honor of projecting and conducting the voyages, in which the Cabots discovered and explored the northeastern coast of America. Their discoveries immediately attracted the notice of Spain ; and Navarrete supposes that the enterprise contemplated by Juan Dorvelos, under the protection of the Catholic Kings, in 1500, had for its object to follow the track of the Cabots.§ Certain it is, that a contract was made by Ferdinand with Juan de Agramonte, a Catalan, in the year 1511, for a voyage of discovery to Newfoundland ; though what came of this is unknown.|| But the expedition of Esteban Gomez, also undertaken by the government, and for the express object of discovering a northwest passage to the Pacific, in 1525, is described by Herrera and Gomara ; and, as he explored the entire Atlantic coast of North America, it hardly de-

* Garcilaso de la Vega, *Florida*.

† *Northern Voyages*, Book III. chap. iii. and v.

‡ *Viages*, Tom. III. p. 176.

|| *Ibid.* Tom. III. p. 42.

§ *Ibid.* Tom. III. p. 41.

serves to be summarily dismissed, in the manner Purchas treats it, and after him Professor Leslie and his associates, as memorable only for a jest. Purchas tells the story in these words ;

“ Of Stephen Gomez little is left but a *jeast*. This Gomez having been with Magellan, a few years before, in his discoverie of the South Sea, enlarged with hopes of new straits, in the yeare 1525 set forth to search this northerly passage. But finding nothing to his expectation, he laded his shippe with slaves, and returned. At his returne, one that knew his intent was for the Moluccas by that way, enquiring what he had brought home, was told *esclavos*, that is, slaves. He, forestalled with his owne imagination, had thought it was *clavos*, and so posted to the court to carrie first newes of this specie discoverie, looking for a great reward. But the truth being knowne caused hereat great laughter.”—*Pilgrims*, 620.

But we must hasten to our main object. The conquerors of Mexico were very far from being disposed to revel among its rich plains, to the neglect of the northwestern region of America. On the contrary, their expeditions by sea and land in that direction were numerous ; and the Great Conqueror himself set the example by undertaking several of the earliest of these at his own charge, and conducting one of them in person. The Emperor had exhorted him to explore the northern seas in search of “ the secrete ” of a strait, which should abridge the voyage from Spain to the East Indies. Unquiet and ambitious in temper, and disgusted with the spectacle of inferior persons administering the rich realms which his courage and skill had conquered, Cortes willingly engaged in the new enterprise of extending the Spanish power into other and (as yet) unexplored regions, and perhaps of solving the long-studied problem of a direct passage by the north to Cathay. He fitted out, first, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza ; then, Diego de Becerra and Hernando de Grijalva.* In one of these voyages, Cortes, through Hernando de Grijalva, his lieutenant, discovered California, in 1534. In another, Cortes himself, and in defiance of infinite hardships, and obstacles without number, explored the Gulf of California.† Returning in safety, after

* Gomara, *Con. de Mex.*, fol. 116 ; Herrera, *Hist. de las Ind.*, Dec. IV. and V.

† Gomara, fol. 117.

the general belief in Mexico that he had perished, he continued the progress of discovery,* by fitting out Francisco de Ulloa in the same direction. These voyages, of which the common books, such as Herrera and Robertson, give an account, were munificently carried on by Cortes, at an expense of two hundred thousand ducats, out of his own private property. The discoveries thus made would alone have sufficed to immortalize any meaner man than Cortes ; but the fame of them is comparatively lost in the splendor of his other great achievements. He thus led the way to the eventual settlement of California by the Spaniards, and to subsequent voyages of discovery along the northwestern coast of America.

At this period, the northwestern expeditions of the Mexican Spaniards began to be animated by very peculiar inducements. We have already seen, that they hoped to find a northern passage to connect the two oceans. In addition to which, a travelling monk, Fray Marcos de Nizza, had propagated the idea, that to the north of California, there was a magnificent city called Cibola, of great population, and equal in riches and civilization to Mexico. The particulars of Nizza's story are contained in Ramusio † and in Hakluyt. ‡ Humboldt conjectures, that these fables may have had relation to the extensive ruins of an old Aztec city, existing on the banks of the river Gila, in Sonora. § Associated with, or succeeding to, this story of the wonders of Cibola, there was another, which combined the two ideas, of a northwestern passage, and of a great city upon its waters. It is briefly related by Torquemada, as follows ;

“ His Majesty (Philip the Third) found among certain other papers the information, which certain foreigners had given to his father, in which are told some notable things, which they had seen in that land (the northwest coast), driven thither by stress of weather, in a vessel from the coast of Labrador, which is by Newfoundland ; giving account therein of how they had passed from the North to the South Sea, by the Strait of Anian, which is beyond Cape Mendocino ; and that they had seen a populous and rich city, well fortified and walled, and very rich in people, politic and court-like, and well-treated ; and other

* Herrera, Dec. VII.

‡ Vol. III. p. 366.

† Tom. III. p. 356.

§ *Nouv. Esp.*, Tom. I. pp. 287, 310.

things, worthy to be known and seen. For these and many other causes, he commanded the Conde de Monte-Rey, Vice-Roy of New Spain, that the said discovery should be made with all care and despatch, at the King's charge." — *Monarq. Ind.*, Lib. V. c. 45.

Torquemada then proceeds to describe at length the important expedition of Sebastian Vizcaino, hereafter referred to, and afterwards adds ;

"There is reason to suppose, that this river" (speaking of the river of Martin de Aguilar, hereafter described) "is that which leads to a great city, discovered by some Hollanders, driven out of their course ; and that this is the Strait of Anian, by which the vessel, which discovered it, penetrated and passed from the North Sea to the South Sea ; and that, undoubtedly, in this region or vicinity is the said city, called of *Quivira* ; and of this situation or place it is of which treats the relation which his Majesty read ; by which he was moved, and induced to command, that with much care this discovery should be made, and sure advice given him of the whole." — *Monarq. Ind.*, Lib. V. c. 55.

There occurs considerable difference of opinion in the books, as to the true origin and signification of the expression *Strait of Anian*. It is used, all agree, to designate a north-western passage, real or supposed, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. But who was the first to use or apply the name ? Did it originate in mere fable and misconception, like the idea of the cities of Cibola and Quivira ? Or was it in the outset the name of Behring's Strait, whose place it occupied in the maps for a century or two ? Or that of Hudson's Bay ? These points are involved in some obscurity. Humboldt says, it was the appellation given to the opening now called Hudson's Bay, after the name of one of two brothers, who embarked in Gaspar de Cortereal's Portuguese expedition to Labrador, in 1500.* The London Quarterly Review, on the other hand, conceives, that when Gaspar de Cortereal entered Hudson's Bay, he supposed it to be the continuation of an opening on the Pacific side of North America, already known as the Strait of Anian.† And this is the more probable view of the subject, because, in the old charts of the sixteenth century, *Anian* is a *country* at the northwestern angle of North America.‡ Whatever the fact as to that matter, the other

* *Nouv. Esp.* Vol. I. p. 330.

† *Quarterly Review*, No. XVI. p. 154.

‡ Burney's *Voyages*, Vol. I. p. 5.

point is certain, that this expression came to denote the long talked-of direct route from Europe to China, which it was the anxious object of the Mexican Spaniards to discover.

Nor was this all. In Peru, the opinion prevailed for many years, that, in the heart of South America, between Peru and Brazil, there was a rich and powerful empire, called Paitaiti, to which the Incas retired with immense treasures, after their overthrow by Pizarro and his companions. Among the old Spaniards, Juan de Salinas and Pedro de Ursua distinguished themselves in the search after this new empire of the Incas ; and it was the object of the expedition of Benito de Ribera y Quiroga, so late as the reign of Charles the Second (of Spain). This gentleman, says one author (Feijoo), after squandering a great estate, and toiling three years, returned, bringing with him a thing much more precious than the gold he sought, though less esteemed in the world, to wit, *el desengaño*. North of the fabulous Paitaiti, was the equally fabulous land of El Dorado, which Father Acosta speaks of, in 1590, as if there were no doubt of its existence.* The schemes and adventures of the gallant and misused Sir Walter Raleigh have rendered the name of this imaginary country a proverb for such delusions. South of Paitaiti again, there was a third of these regions of abounding wealth, with house-tiles and plough-shares of solid gold, called the city of the Cæsars. And superstitions of precisely the same kind were current in Mexico, with regard to the interior regions of North America. The belief was, that after the victories of Cortes had prostrated the Mexican empire, Tatarrax, a brave prince of the royal family of Montezuma, retired from the ruins of his country, with a proud band of followers, who disdained to bow the neck to foreign conquerors ; that they carried with them the treasures of Montezuma ; and that they founded a new and flourishing empire on the Lake Teguayo, by the name of Quivira, or, as the Spaniards usually call it, *La gran Quivira*.† And there was the more of plausibility in this story, inasmuch as the monarch race in Mexico, the Aztecs, were declared by themselves, and universally believed, to have descended on the plains of Anahuac, from the far northwestern parts of America.‡ And to the old Spaniards, who had fallen as it were by chance upon the opulent

* *Hist. Nat. Lib.* II. c. 6. † Feijoo, *Teat. Crit.* Tom. IV. Disc. 10, s. 12 – 15.

‡ *Compagnoni*, Tom. VI.

states of Peru, Bogotá, and Mexico, when they reflected on the immense extent of those interior parts of the New World of which they knew so little, there seemed nothing improbable in the idea of other communities as populous and as rich as those they had already discovered and conquered. It was an age of marvels to any but them ; and the events, in which they had figured, were so extraordinary, that there had ceased to be a fixed standard of the credible either in discovery or in achievement. All that was most improbable in fact, or most romantic in fiction, had become the sober truth of their own personal experience. After Hernan Cortes, or Francisco Pizarro, or Gonzalo de Quesada, at the head of a handful of adventurers, had subdued great empires, and amassed vast treasures of pillage, what might not be dreamed of the unexplored regions of that New World, which the genius of Columbus had made known ? It might be said of them, as the common saying is of the people of La Mancha, that the most exhilarating wine was the water of their daily intellectual life. Hence the boldness and the unshrinking resoluteness of their expeditions of discovery and conquest. Hence, also, the chimerical nature of some of their undertakings ; there being exhibited in the pursuit of Ponce de Leon's fountain of Bimini, pouring forth its waters of immortality, or in the exploration of the lost empires of Paitaiti and Quivira, the same intoxicated ardor, which had transferred to Spain the sceptres of Montezuma and of Manco-Capac.

These illusory expectations of the Spaniards, in regard to the great cities of Cibola and Quivira, were dispelled in time, by ample exploration of New Mexico and California. With what indefatigable perseverance the Spaniards pursued these enterprises, an opinion may be formed from the fact, that, in 1537, Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca made his appearance on the coast of Caliacan, in the Gulf of California, with two of his companions, remnants of the expedition of Pamfilo de Narvaez, having landed in Florida, and forced their way across the whole breadth of the continent through such immense waters, woods, and deserts, and so many savage tribes of Indians.

Nor was the government idle in this matter. Emulous of the efforts of Cortes, his successor, the Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, fitted out several expeditions by sea and land, the memory of which still remains in the name of Cape Mendocino, derived from him. In 1540, he sent Hernando de

Alarcon by sea, and Francisco Vasquez de Coronado by land, in search of Marcos de Nizza's great city of Cibola, and three realms of Marata, Aacus, and Tontoteac.* In this expedition, Coronado found abundance of privations and perils, which he barely struggled through;† but he ascertained conclusively by his researches, that the twenty thousand high-terraced stone houses of Cibola, with its white inhabitants, well clothed in cotton garments, and dressed furs, richly ornamented with emeralds and turquoises, and their gems circulating as money, existed only in the imagination of Friar Nizza.‡

Without pausing any longer on the Spanish land expeditions in California and New Mexico, we proceed to their voyages along the coast; among which, next after the surveys of Cortes, those of Cabrillo and Gali are the most important in the order of time.

Juan Rodriguez de Cabrillo explored the outer coast of California, as far as $37^{\circ} 10'$ N. with great care. He died on the island of San Bernardo, in 1543; but his pilot, Bartolomé Ferrelo, continued his discoveries to the coast of Cape Blanco, in 43° N.§ Burney is of opinion, that Cabrillo gave its name to Cape Mendocino.||

Spain having, some time before this, formed settlements in the Philippine Islands, there naturally grew up a direct intercourse between Manila and Acapulco. In sailing from Macao to Acapulco, in 1582, Francisco Gali visited the north-west coast as high up as $57^{\circ} 30'$, his description of that region being of undeniable veracity and accuracy. At least, such is the representation of Humboldt¶ and of Navarrete; ** though Burney makes some citations from a Dutch author, Linschoten, which led him to the conclusion, that Gali went no farther than $37^{\circ} 50'$ N.††

We pass over the mere hearsay accounts of the supposed discoveries of the Spaniard, Andres de Urdaneta, in 1554, and of his countryman Juan Fernandez de Ladrillero, in 1574; both which are described, but not admitted as genuine, by Navarrete.‡‡ The same of Martin Chack, the Portuguese, spoken of by Purchas.§§ We add, that the evidence concern-

* Herrera, Dec. VI.; Gomara, f. 116; Ramusio, Tom. III.

† Torquemada. ‡ Venegas, Cal. Pt. II.

|| *Voyages*, i. 224.

** *Viage de la Sutil*, int.

†† *Viage de la Subtil*, int. pp. 38, and 43.

§ Herrera, Dec. VII.

¶ *Nouv. Esp.* Lib. III.

‡‡ *Voyages*, Vol. V. p. 164.

§§ Vol. III. bk. 4.

ing these persons is fairly stated by Burney ; who, indeed, in contrast with the compilers referred to by us in other parts of this article, seems disposed to do all justice to the early Spanish navigators.*

Next come accounts of two voyages, which some have considered apocryphal, but one at least of which, if not both, we incline to rely upon as authentic.

Nicolas Antonio, a Spanish author of great credit, in his *Bibliotheca Hispana*,† says, that he had seen in the hands of the Bishop of Segovia, who was a member of the Council of the Indies, the manuscript narrative of a voyage, being the relation of the discovery of the *Strait of Anian*, in 1588, by a Spaniard of the name of Ferrer Maldonado. That there was in that period a skilful navigator and geographer of that name, is abundantly authenticated by various evidence. A general belief in such a voyage seems to have obtained among the Spaniards ; for, in 1789, it was particularly referred to as one of the inducements of Malaspina's expedition, hereafter described ; at which time Maldonado's journal existed in the library of the Duque del Infantado, who furnished a copy of it to Malaspina. In 1812, Amoretti, an Italian scholar, published a manuscript, found by him among the manuscripts of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, of which he was librarian, purporting to be Maldonado's account of his voyage. The London Quarterly Review, after a very critical discussion of the question, comes to the conclusion, from internal proofs, that the manuscript, which Amoretti found and published, was a fabrication of some old writer. We will not quarrel with this conclusion ; the rather, since the Review also pronounces, that, though the particular manuscript was false, yet substantially such a voyage did actually take place.‡ That is to say, we have the best of English authority for the belief, that, so early as 1588, the Spanish navigator Maldonado had proceeded north to what is now called Behring's Strait.

There is no doubt, that many other vessels visited the coast in the same way, whilst bound from Manila and Macao to Aca-pulco. One of these, we know, the San Agustin, entered the bay of San Francisco in 1595, and was there wrecked.§

We have good English authority for believing another important fact, and that is, the truth of the alleged discovery of

* *Voyages*, Vol. II.

† *Quarterly Review*, Vol. XVI.

‡ Tom. II. p. 2.

§ Torquemada, Lib. V. c. 55.

the Strait of Juan de Fuca, in 1599, by a Greek pilot of that name, in the service of Spain.

The only printed account of this voyage is contained in Purchas, who gives it, as he received it, from Mr. Michael Lok, English consul at Aleppo. It being important and curious, we extract the chief part of it, as follows.

“A note made by me, Michael Lok the elder, touching the Strait of Sea, commonly called *Fretum Anian*, in the South Sea, through the North-west passage of *Meta incognita*.

“When I was at Venice, in April, 1596, happily arrived there an old man, about threescore yeares of age, called commonly Iuan de Fuca, but named properly Apostolos Valerianos, of Nation a Greeke, borne in the Iland Cefalonia, of profession a Mariner; and an ancient Pilot of Shippes. This man being come lately out of Spaine, arrived first at Ligorno, and went thence to Florence in Italie, where he found one Iohn Dowglas, an Englishman, a famous Mariner, ready comming for Venice, to be Pilot of a Venetian Ship, named Ragasona for England, in whose company they came both together to Venice. And Iohn Dowglas being well acquainted with me before, he gaue me knowledge of this Greeke Pilot, and brought him to my speech: and in long talke and conference betweene vs, in presence of Iohn Dowglas, this Greeke Pilot declared, in the Italian and Spanish languages, thus much in effect as followeth.

“First he said, that he had bin in the West Indies of Spaine by the space of fortie yeers, and had sailed to and from many places thereof, as Mariner and Pilot, in the seruice of the Spaniards.

“Also he said, that he was in the Spanish Shippe, which in returning from the Ilands, Philippinas and China, towards Noua Spania, was robbed and taken at the Cape California, by Captaine Candish, Englishman, whereby he lost sixtie thousand Duckets of his owne goods.

“Also he said, that he was Pilot of three small Ships, which the Vizeroy of Mexico sent from Mexico, armed with one hundred men, Souldiers, vnder a Captain, Spaniards, to discover the Straits of Anian, along the coast of the South-Sea, and to fortifie in that Strait, to resist the passage and proceedings of the English Nation, which were feared to passe through those Straits into the South Sea. And that by reason of a mutinie which happened among the Souldiers, for the Sodomie of their Captaine, that voyage was ouerthrowne, and the Ships returned backe from California coast to Noua Spania, without any effect of thing done in that Voyage. And that after their returne, the Captaine was at Mexico punished by iustice.

“Also he said, that shortly after the said Voyage was so ill

ended, the said Viceroy of Mexico, sent him out againe Anno 1592, with a small Carauela, and a Pinnace, armed with Mariners onely, to follow the said Voyage, for discovery of the same Straits of Anian, and the passage thereof, into the Sea which they call the North Sea, which is our North-west Sea. And that he followed his course in that Voyage West and North-west in the South Sea, all alongst the coast of Noua Spania, and California, and the Indies, now called North America (all which Voyage hee signified to me in a great Map, and a Sea-card of mine owne, which I laied before him) vntill hee came to the Latitude of fortie seuen degrees, and that there finding that the Land trended North and North-east, with a broad Inlet of Sea, betweene 47. and 48. degrees of Latitude : hee entred thereinto, sayling therein more then twentie dayes, and found that Land trending still some time North-west and North-east, and North, and also East and South-eastward, and very much broader Sea then was at the said entrance, and that hee passed by diuers Ilands in that sayling. And that at the entrance of this said Strait, there is on the North-west coast thereof, a great Hedland or Iland, with an exceeding high Pinnacle, or spired Rocke, like a piller thereupon.

“ Also he said, that he went on Land in diuers places, and that he saw some people on Land, clad in Beasts skins : and that the Land is very fruitfull, and rich of gold, Siluer, Pearle, and other things, like Noua Spania.

“ And also he said, that he being entred thus farre into the said Strait, and being come into the North Sea already, and finding the Sea wide enough euery where, and to be about thirtie or fortie leagues wide in the mouth of the Straits, where hee entred ; hee thought he had now well discharged his office, and done the thing which he was sent to doe : and that hee not being armed to resist the force of the Saluage people that might happen, hee therefore set sayle and returned home-wards againe towards Noua Spania, where hee arriued at Acapulco, Anno 1592. hoping to be rewarded greatly of the Viceroy, for this seruice done in this said Voyage.

“ Also he said, that after his comming to Mexico, hee was greatly welcommed by the Viceroy, and had great promises of great reward, but that hauing sued there two yeares time, and obtained nothing to his content, the Viceroy told him, that he should be rewarded in Spaine of the King himselfe very greatly, and willed him therefore to goe into Spaine, which Voyage hee did performe.

“ Also he said, that when he was come into Spaine, he was greatly welcommed there at the Kings Court, in wordes after the Spanish manner, but after long time of suite there also, hee could not get any reward there neither to his content. And

that therefore at the length he stole away out of Spaine, and came into Italie, to goe home againe and liue among his owne Kindred and Countymen, he being very old.

“Also he said, that hee thought the cause of his ill reward had of the Spaniards, to bee for that they did vnderstand very well, that the English Nation had now giuen ouer all their voyages for discouerie of the North-west passage, wherefore they need not feare them any more to come that way into the South Sea, and therefore they needed not his seruice therein any more.

“Also he said, that in regard of this ill reward had of the Spaniards, and vnderstanding of the noble minde of the Queene of England, and of her warres maintayned so valiantly against the Spaniards, and hoping that her Maiestie would doe him iustice for his goods lost by Captaine Candish, he would bee content to goe into England, and serue her Maiestie in that voyage for the discouerie perfectly of the North-west passage into the South Sea, and would put his life into her Maiesties hands to performe the same, if shee would furnish him with onely one ship of fortie tunnes burden and a Pinnasse, and that he would performe it in thirtie dayes time, from one end to the other of the Streights. And he willed me so to write into England.

“And vpon this conference had twice with the said Greeke Pilot, I did write thereof accordingly into England vnto the right honourable the old Lord Treasurer Cecill, and to Sir Walter Raleigh, and to Master Richard Hakluyt that famous Cosmographer, certifying them hereof by my Letters. And in the behalfe of the said Greeke Pilot, I prayed them to disburse one hundred pounds of money, to bring him into England with my selfe, for that my owne purse would not stretch so wide at that time. And I had answere hereof by Letters of friends, that this action was very well liked, and greatly desired in England to bee effected; but the money was not readie, and therefore this action dyed at that time, though the said Greeke Pilot perchance liueth still this day at home in his owne Countrie in Cefalonia, towards the which place he went from me within a fortnight after this conference had at Venice.”—*Purchas's Pilgrims*, Vol. III. p. 849--851.

This account was for a long time doubted, or discredited, owing to want of knowledge of the facts. But the researches of Gray, Meares, Vancouver, Malaspina, and others, having shown that there is a broad strait in the place indicated by Juan de Fuca, answering in all essential particulars to his description; and the description being so exact as to negative altogether the supposition of its having been fabri-

cated, or derived from any other source than actual observation, the general sense of modern geographers has admitted the claim of the Greek pilot to the honor of the discovery of the Strait, and has bestowed upon it his name, which it now universally bears. To this effect is the valuable testimony of Vancouver,* of Burney,† of M. de Fleurieu,‡ and of the Quarterly Review.§ And the Review suggests a remarkable confirmation of the story of the old Greek pilot. Juan de Fuca speaks of being plundered by an English cruiser, commanded by one *Candish*; and Sir Thomas Cavendish (pronounced *Candish*) relates, that he found a Greek pilot in one of the Spanish ships, which he robbed in the Pacific. For the rest, though Lok's narrative contains some errors or exaggerations, they are no greater than occur in many (perhaps most) of the old voyages, and are no impeachment of the general credibility of the story.

Next to this comes the voyage of Sebastian Vizcaino, one of the most interesting and best conducted in the annals of navigation. Vizcaino was a man of great ability and experience, and of considerable personal distinction. In 1594, he commanded an important expedition in California, the conquest and settlement of which had been confided to his care. When the interests of the Manila commerce, which required a post of refuge in California, and the general desire to understand the nature of the shores of that country, caused the further exploration of the northwest coast to be undertaken by Philip the Third, the Conde de Monterey being Viceroy of Mexico, as stated in the extract given by us from Torquemada, the Viceroy selected Vizcaino for this service. The fleet, of which he was captain-general, consisted of three large vessels, the *San-Diego*, *Santo-Tomas*, and *Tres-Reyes*, with picked crews of seamen, and soldiers, commanded by officers of merit and reputation, including Torribio Gomez, as admiral, and Geronymo Martin, as cosmographer. Of this expedition a very full and authentic account exists in numerous original documents, an abridgment of which is to be found in Torquemada. In addition to which, are thirty-two original maps of the countries explored by the expedition, drawn up by Enrico Martinez, and vouched by Humboldt, as surpassing all previous works of that kind in accuracy and skill of con-

* Vol. I. p. 215.

† Vol. II. p. 110.

‡ *Voyage de Marchand, int.*

§ Vol. XVI. p. 159.

struction. The fleet set sail from Acapulco, the 2nd of May, 1602, and arrived there on its return, the 21st of March, 1603. Vizcaino, himself, proceeded north only so far as Cape S. Sebastian, in lat. 42° , and north of Trinidad Bay. But one of his ships, the frigate *Tres-Reyes*, conducted by Antonio Flores, as pilot, and commanded by Martin de Aguilar, went on further, to lat. 43° , and, on the 19th of January, 1603, reached the mouth of a deep river, often called in the books after the name of Aguilar, and bearing on some maps that of Rouge Clamet, or McLeod's River. There is some reason to suppose this river may have been visited by Cabrillo, in 1543. The discovery of it, unless made by Cabrillo, unquestionably belongs to Martin de Aguilar. It was the ultimate point of Vizcaino's expedition, which then returned to Acapulco.

Owing to the prejudice of the English writers, and their neglect of the old Spanish literature, great injustice has been done by them to Vizcaino, a man of the highest merit, and to his lieutenant, Aguilar. For instance, Lardner's "History of Maritime Discovery," speaks thus ;

" *It is said*, that one of Vizcaino's captains in this expedition, named Martin de Aguilar, being separated from the squadron by the violence of the winds, succeeded in doubling Cape Mendocino, which, till then, had been only seen from a distance. Thirty leagues further to the north, he discovered a second Cape, or Point, to which he gave the name of Cape Blanco. Beyond this, the coast declined to the eastward ; and here he discovered a broad and navigable inlet, which he supposed to be the mouth of a great river, leading to the celebrated city called Quivira. Recent researches have found no traces of the celebrated city of Quivira ; and had Aguilar pretended to have himself seen it, the truth of his relation might be justly suspected. But the fictions, which pervade his account, can be easily explained from the opinions of his age." — Vol. II. p. 221.

Here is a strange tissue of mixed truth and error. "*It is said*, that one of Vizcaino's captains !" Why, *It is said* ? — It is known. If the writer could not read Torquemada and the other Spanish authorities, there was Humboldt's New Spain to satisfy him of the true state of the facts. — Aguilar was not the first navigator who doubled Cape Mendocino. — There are no " fictions " in his account. — He (Aguilar) does not pretend or say any thing about the city of Quivira, or the Strait

of Anian. It is *Torquemada*, who, after giving an account of what Aguilar actually did see, proceeds to *conjecture*, that it may be the entrance of the Strait of Anian, with its city of Quivira. Then again, as to the coast declining to the "eastward," and the "inlet," — there is nothing of this in the original account. *Torquemada's* words are ;

"A diez y nueve de Enero, se hallò el piloto Antonio Flores, que iba en la fragata, en altura de quarenta y tres grados, donde la tierra hace un cabo ò punta, que se llamò Cabo Blanco ; desde el qual comienza la costa à correrse al *Norueste* (northwestward, not *eastward*) ; y junto à èl se hallò un rio muy caudaloso, y hondable, que por las orillas de èl havia muy grandes fresnos, sauces, zarzas, y otros arboles de Castilla ; y queriendo entrar por èl, las corrientes no dieron lugar à ello."

Not a word of an inlet is here, but a simple and true description of the river, which is well known to exist at the designated point. Or, as the editor of Venegas remarks ; "It is worthy of notice, that what these Spaniards found, or saw, was not an inlet, strait, or arm of the sea, but only a river. The residue, which is afterwards added, about the Strait of Anian, &c., it is obvious, is mere conjecture of *Torquemada*, without any foundation." *

Thus much in justice to the memory of Sebastian Vizcaino, and Martin de Aguilar. After their time, for a long series of years, the northwest coast was left unexplored by Spain ; for we do not rely on the story of De Fonte's voyage, in 1640, as authentic. And the reason of the cessation of the efforts of Spain is to be sought for, not in her neglect of navigation, but in the necessary change of her policy. She had ceased to desire the existence of a northwest passage from Europe to the Pacific ; because, though such a passage might in some respects be useful to her, it would be greatly more injurious to her in other respects, inasmuch as it would bring down upon her possessions in the Pacific and Indian seas the piratical cruisers of the northern nations of Europe. If the reader will call to mind the feverish apprehensions of Great Britain, at the present time, in regard to the practicability of access to Hindostan from Russia through Persia, — the anxiety of Britain, not to *discover*, but to *cover up*, the possibility of such access, — he will then com-

* Tom. III. p. 116.

prehend the policy, which actuated the Spanish government in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in reference to a northern route from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the exploration of the northwestern coast of America. The Spaniards did not wish to see the coast of Mexico swarming with English privateers, capturing their treasure-ships, and plundering their maritime towns and settlements. The expeditions of Drake and Cavendish had shown, that the circuit of Cape Horn did not furnish to Spain a complete security for her remote possessions in the Pacific. Still more alarming would have been their insecurity, if accessible by a ready passage from Hudson's Bay.

We have alluded to the supposititious voyage called De Fonte's; and we proceed to give an account of it, both as a curiosity in itself, and because it contains some things of particular interest.

There was published in London, in 1708, an anonymous periodical work, entitled "Monthly Miscellany, or Memoirs for the Curious." Two successive numbers of this publication contained a piece bearing the following caption;

"A Letter from Admiral Bartholomew de Fonte, the Admiral of New Spain and Peru, and now Prince of Chili; giving an Account of the most material Transactions in a Journal of his, from the Calo of Lima, in Peru, on his Discoveries to find out if there was any North West Passage from the Atlantic Ocean into the South and Tartarian Sea."

This piece appeared in English, without any explanation as to the source from whence it was obtained, or any apology for this omission. It attracted much attention, however, all over Europe; and was translated into several languages. It is republished in Burney's "Voyages," (Vol. III.) word for word, together with a brief notice of the controversy, as to its authenticity. Burney himself calls it "a geographical meteor," and adds, that, "notwithstanding the unauthenticated and unceremonious manner in which it was obtruded on the public, it has found able defenders. Among these the most conspicuous are MM. Joseph de l'Isle, of the French Academy of Sciences, and Philippe Buache, who, in 1750, presented to the Academy a translation of the letter, together with a map, exhibiting the supposed communication by water from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific.* On the other hand, re-

* *Hist. de l'Acad.* 1750, p. 152.

spectable Spanish authors, such as the editors of Father Venegas's *California*, and of the *Voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana*, affirm, that the public repositories in Spain and the Indies have been carefully searched, and that neither journal, copies of orders, nor any paper whatever relating to such a voyage, can be found.* Arguments both ways are founded, also, on the internal evidence of the document itself. Thus, to the objection that De Fonte is styled "*Prince of Chili*," it is replied, that an ignorant translator of a Spanish manuscript might easily mistake the abbreviation *Pr.* (President) for *Prince*. The exaggerations contained in it also go for nothing, as a mixture of the fabulous is very common in the most genuine of the old voyages. On the whole, Burney concludes thus ;

"It may not be thought conceding too much to the letter from Admiral de Fonte to allow, (what indeed cannot be denied,) that at this time it is not determined, whether it is a rodomontade narrative of a real voyage, or an idle piece of invention, such as is attributed to Petiver. In either case, it has been an event of some celebrity in the history of geography. But De Fonte's voyage does not stand on ground so creditable as does the voyage of De Fuca, of which it may be supposed an imitation. The Spaniards have been charged, for it merits not to be called an accusation, with not publishing all the discoveries they have made in America and the Pacific Ocean. However this matter may be argued, it is not possible to those who read the relations of Juan de Fuca and Bartholomew de Fonte, and compare them with the modern charts, not to imagine that Spain did obtain more acquaintance with the northwest parts of America, than it was thought necessary by her to impart to the rest of the world."

A circumstance which has served to gain some credence for this voyage, is, that Witsen, in his "*Nord en Oost Tartarye*," speaks of a famous Portuguese seaman (vermaede Portuguesche zeeman), named *De Fonta*, who, in 1649, at the cost of the King of Spain, "visited the Tierra del Fuego and the Staten Island, and examined every creek." This work of Witsen's appeared in 1705, three years before the publication in the "*Monthly Miscellany*." So that there seems to have been such a person as De Fonte or De Fonta, distinguished as a discoverer ; and this point, like that of Mal-

* Venegas, *Cal.* Tom. III. p. 352; *Viage de la Sutil*, &c. *Int.* p. 79.

donado's and De Fuca's voyages, deserves to be more fully investigated by those who have leisure and opportunity (which we have not) for such investigations.

The letter purports, that De Fonte sailed along the Pacific coast of America from Chili, by Peru and Mexico, *into the Arctic sea*, where he met *a ship from Boston, commanded by a Captain Shapley*. It is described as follows ;

“The 17th (July, 1640), we came to an Indian town, and the Indians told our interpreter, Mr. Parmentiers, that a little way from us lay a great ship where there had never been one before. We sailed to them, and found only one man advanced in years and a youth. The man was the greatest man in the mechanical parts of the mathematics I had ever met with. My second mate was an Englishman, an excellent seaman, as was my gunner, who had been taken prisoners at Campeachy, as well as the master's son. They told me the ship was of New England, from a town called Boston. The owner and the whole ship's company came on board the 30th, and the navigator of the ship, Captain Shapley, told me, his owner was a fine gentleman, and major-general of the largest colony in New England, called the Maltechusets. So I received him like a gentleman, and told him, my commission was to make prize of any people seeking a northwest or west passage into the South Sea ; but I would look upon them as merchants trading with the natives for beavers, otters, and other furs and skins ; and so for a small present of provisions I had no need of, I gave him my diamond ring, which cost me twelve hundred pieces of eight (which the modest gentleman received with difficulty) ; and having given the brave navigator, Captain Shapley, for his fine charts and journals, one thousand pieces of eight, and the owner of the ship, Seimor Gibbons, a quarter cask of good Peruan wine, and the ten seamen each twenty pieces of eight, the 6th of August, with as much wind as we could fly before, and a current, we arrived at the first fall of the river Parmentiers,” &c.

The letter goes on to relate De Fonte's return to the Pacific, by the way he came. Without feeling any confidence in the genuineness of this letter, we yet think there is in it matter for investigation ; such as the fact, that it gives a just account of the climate and the productions of the northwest, repeatedly speaking of the profusion of *salmon* in the rivers, which is really one of their most characteristic peculiarities. But we dwell upon the subject chiefly in the hope, that information may be thereby elicited in regard to the early

voyages from New England, either to the region of Hudson's Bay, or to the northwest. Did any Massachusetts vessel, so early as the middle of the seventeenth century, find her way around Cape Horn to the northwest? Did any person named *Shapley* (or Shepley, or Shapleigh) make a commercial voyage at that period to Hudson's Bay? Knowing, as we do, the hardihood and enterprise which have in all times distinguished the maritime population of New England, we should greatly rejoice to see some of their old adventures redeemed from oblivion. That they were familiar with the Labrador seas at a very early period, is perfectly notorious; and of this a curious memorial exists, in one of the old voyages of discovery. For, at about the same period with De Fonte's alleged voyage, M. de Groseiller was despatched from Quebec, for the purpose of discovery in Hudson's Bay; and, landing near Nelson's River, he found six persons in a wretched hut, half famished, part of the crew of a ship from Boston, which had been driven to sea by the ice, while they were on shore, and never returned.*

Without relying, then, upon De Fonte's Letter, and giving away even the voyage of Maldonado, it will be perceived that we have authentic proofs, that Cabrillo (or Ferrelo) had explored to latitude 43° in 1543; that Gali was at $37^{\circ} 30'$, if not at $57^{\circ} 30'$, in 1582; that the San Agustin was at the Bay of San Francisco, in 1595; that Juan de Fuca entered the strait now bearing his name in 1599; and that, in 1602, Vizcaino (that is, Martin de Aguilar,) surveyed the coast of California, as far up as the river of Aguilar. Beside which, the outer coast of California was explored immediately after the conquest, by the orders of Cortes and of Mendoza, to Cape Mendocino, and was repeatedly visited by the Manila ships, to provide a port for which the expedition of Vizcaino was in part undertaken. And upon these various discoveries, and the proximity of their settlements in Mexico, the government of Spain proceeded, in the course of the seventeenth century, to make or authorize settlements in New California, so as to acquire all the territorial rights, by which any European government ever has obtained original claim to sovereignty of the soil in America.

Yet Great Britain sets up claims to sovereignty on the

* *London Quarterly Review*, Vol. XVI. p. 160.

northwest coast, in virtue of the voyage of Sir Francis Drake, who landed in 1579, at some point on the coast of California, either in the Bay of San Francisco, or, more probably, in the port of Bodega, but it is not well settled which. Sir Francis Drake also approached the coast in 42° or 43° N., but without landing. One of the accounts of his voyage, indeed, (*The World Encompassed*,) says he went to 48° N. ; but this is incompatible with other parts of the same book, and also with another of the old books (*Famous Voyage, &c.*). They tell the story thus : On the 3d of June, Drake was in latitude 42° ; on the 5th, he made land in latitude 43° ; but it had then come on cold and tempestuous weather, and he was compelled to turn back, and so made a harbour in latitude $38^{\circ} 30'$. These are the figures given in the books.

Although Sir Francis pretended to take possession of the country, and to call it *New Albion*, this could amount to nothing as against Spain, the prior discoverer. England, by touching at New California, could not acquire any rights whatever ; for whatever right such an act may be deemed, by the European conventional law, to confer, had already been appropriated by Spain. And Spain also proceeded to do that, which England did not do, and which, by the same European conventional law, is deemed the consummation of the inchoate title gained by discovery, namely, the formation of settlements in the country discovered. To say nothing, therefore, of the absurdity of claiming title for England as against Spain, by the piratical acts of a professional pirate, such as Sir Francis Drake, in most of his expeditions along the American coast, was, — to say nothing of this, — if Sir Francis Drake had been a peaceful, or at any rate a just explorer in behalf of England, yet, according even to the most liberal of all the rules of international law applicable to his case, his acts in reality conferred on his government no territorial rights whatever in America.

But the operations of Sir Francis Drake in the Pacific, and those of Sir Thomas Cavendish in 1588, with others of the same spirit, changed, as we have already stated, the policy of Spain, in regard to a northwest passage, and in regard to the *public* exploration of the northwestern coast of America. We are at a loss to know what apology, unless it be the barbarism of the times, Great Britain can adduce, for the scandalous proceedings perpetrated in Spanish America, un-

der her flag. Piracy is too tender a name for those brutalities. Drake referred his own acts to the *inducement* of personal revenge, though the *object* was mere avarice. Whether Drake had any cause for personal resentment, is easy to judge by the facts. He began life as a *slave-trader*, under Hawkins. In searching for a market for his human cargoes, Hawkins stormed and took the town of Rio de la Hacha, simply "*because the Governor did not choose to trade with him.*" He proceeded to S. Juan de Ulua, conducting there like a king's fleet in time of war, rather than a private trader. At length, the Spaniards were obliged to repress by force the insolence of bucaniers, who began by stealing men in Africa, on speculation, and then assaulted towns in America, which would not buy their stolen men ; and a fight ensued, in which some of Hawkins's vessels were destroyed ; and thus Drake, though he returned to England in safety, yet *lost money* by his half slave-trading, half-piratical voyage. This misadventure was his apology for taking up, and systematically pursuing the business of piracy, plunder, and murder against the inhabitants of Spanish America, indiscriminately. Instead of raking up those old voyages as titles of territory or honor, England should desire to see the memory of them buried in everlasting oblivion. Least of all, should her writers in modern times complain of the "secrecy which the Spanish nation affected to preserve with respect to their discoveries" in the Pacific, or themselves add to the distortion of history, by purposely suppressing the knowledge of Spanish discoveries, in order thereby to give undue prominence to those of England.

Discovery in the North Pacific was revived, not by England, but by Russia, who, in consequence of her Asiatic possessions, very naturally turned her attention to the opposite coast of America. The voyages of Behring, and Tschirikow, in 1728, 1729, and 1741, led to a more exact knowledge of the relative bearings of the Asiatic and American coasts in the high northern latitudes, and to the Russian establishments on the Aleutian Islands, and the promontory of Alaska.

These events alarmed Spain, and stimulated England ; and the numerous voyages of those two nations to the northwest coast ensued. First of all, was the important voyage of Don Juan Perez. He set sail from the port of San Blas in Jan-

uary, 1774, in the corvette *Santiago*, with Esteban José Martínez, for pilot, having orders to reconnoitre the coast from Monterey, to the 60th degree of north latitude. They anchored in the road of Nootka, in August, 1774, *first of all Europeans*, and called it San Lorenzo. It was *four years afterwards*, that Cook visited the same place, and called it King George's Sound.*

The year following, 1775, a second expedition sailed from San Blas, under the orders of Don Bruno Heceta, Don Juan de Ayala, and Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra. The incidents of this voyage are known to English readers by the journal of the pilot Maurelle, published in Barrington's "Miscellanies." They explored the coast up to latitude 58°, and were the first to discover the mouth of the river Columbia, which they called *Entrada de Heceta*.†

In 1776, another expedition from San Blas to the northwest was projected by the Spanish government, and intrusted to Quadra and to Don Ignacio Arteaga; but it did not set sail until 1779. Quadra, with his pilot Don Francisco Maurelle, surveyed in this expedition the port of Bucareli, as in their former voyage; also, Mount St. Elias, and the Isle of La Magdalena. (Hinchinbrook.)

We find very slighting accounts of these voyages in the English books of abridgment, which so minutely describe that of Cook, who, on his third and last voyage, in 1778, explored the coast of America from Nootka Sound to Behring's Strait, but, being posterior to the Spanish navigators, Perez, Heceta, and others of the older ones, could not by this voyage confer any rights of discovery on Great Britain. Moreover, Cook's explorations, it will be remembered, were from Nootka Sound, northward, and do not touch the country of Oregon.

Next comes the unfortunate French expedition of La Pérouse, who, in 1786, was at Mount St. Elias, and sailed from thence to Monterey, but without making any novel discoveries of value, on that coast.

Voyages to the northwest were now interrupted for a while, by the progress of the American Revolution, which involved Britain, France, and Spain, as well as the United States, in a common war. But immediately after the restoration of peace,

* Humboldt, *N. Esp.* Vol. I. p. 331.

† Humboldt, Vol. I. p. 330.

commerce turned its attention to the productive fur-trade of that region ; Great Britain and the United States became competitors with Russia for the supply of peltries in the markets of Asia ; and a great number of private merchant vessels began to frequent Nootka Sound and the neighbouring seas and islands. Among these commercial navigators, the Englishmen, Meares, Portlocke, and Dixon, and the American, Robert Gray, distinguished themselves by their valuable additions to the geographical knowledge of the coast ; especially, by entering and exploring the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and thus proving conclusively, that the story of the old pilot was a true one, and that the credit of the first discovery of that strait is due to Spain.

We shall recur to Gray's voyages in a subsequent paragraph, leaving them at present in order to continue the account of the Spanish ones,—to show that Spain did not, by any neglect or abandonment, lose the rights, which she already possessed by prior discovery.

In 1788, two Spanish vessels, commanded by Don Esteban Martinez and Don Gonzalo Lopez de Haro, sailed from San Blas to examine the Russian establishments in America ; and, in 1799, Martinez proceeded with the same vessels for the purpose of making a settlement in Nootka Sound, and constructed the fort of San Miguel on one of the islands there. Two months after this, arrived the English ship *Argonaut*, fitted out by a new trading corporation in England, called “King George's Sound Company,” which, in the grasping and rapacious spirit that has actuated the East India Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, pretended to monopolize to itself the trade and territory of Nootka Sound. Martinez demanded by what right England undertook to do this. Colnet, the commander of the *Argonaut*, referred to Cook's voyage. Martinez very justly replied, that he himself, under Perez, had anticipated Cook, in the discovery of Nootka Sound, by four years ; a fact well remembered by the natives, who had a perfect recollection of Martinez personally, and of the expedition of Perez. At length, Martinez put an end to the dispute by arresting Colnet, and sending him to San Blas. At the same time, other vessels, commanded by Don Francisco Elisa and Don Salvador Fidalgo, were sent from Mexico to support Martinez. Fidalgo formed a second Spanish settlement or fort to the

southeast of Quadra's Island, *on the main land*, at the entrance of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, in latitude $48^{\circ} 20' N$. This fact is important to be remembered. For we thus see, that Spain was the first European power that doubled Cape Mendocino and Cape Blanco, the first that visited the river of Aguilar, the first that discovered the inlet of Columbia River, the first that visited Nootka Sound, the first that discovered the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and *the first that formed any establishment, on any part of the northwest coast, from California to the forty-ninth degree of north latitude.* Hers is the prior title to that of England, both by discovery and by settlement.

Meanwhile, the seizure of Colnet had excited a very lively sensation in Europe, and well-nigh involved Britain and Spain in a new war. This was the celebrated Nootka Sound controversy ; a diplomatic question, into which we do not propose to enter at present ; which controversy being disposed of by a convention between Great Britain and Spain, the design, previously conceived by the British government, to have a more careful survey of the northwest coast, was resumed, and intrusted to Vancouver. His exertions were meritorious and valuable. Not, however, that he made any new discovery of *national* consequence, but that he followed up successfully those of others, and accurately reconnoitred an extensive region. This was done during the years 1792, 1793, and 1794.

Of course, the English compilations give to Vancouver all the credit he deserves, and much that he does not deserve, and never claimed. The "History of Discovery," already referred to, assigns to Vancouver, by implication, if not in express terms, the honor of first entering Columbia River.* And yet Vancouver himself, in his own narrative, states truly and candidly, with the frankness natural to a brave sailor, that he derived the knowledge of the existence of Columbia River from Captain Gray, who had previously visited it, and named it ; and who spoke Vancouver, and communicated to him the fact ! On the 29th of April, 1792, Vancouver says, that he spoke the ship *Columbia* of Boston, Captain Robert Gray ; that Gray gave information of a river in $46^{\circ} 10'$; and he then proceeds to mention a previous voyage, that of the Washington, in which Gray had entered the Strait of Juan de Fuca.†

* Vol. III. pp. 138, 139.

† *Voyage*, Vol. I.

Afterwards, when Vancouver sent Broughton, one of his officers, to explore the River Columbia, he says, "Broughton had for his guidance thus far up the inlet, a chart by Mr. Gray, who had commanded the American ship *Columbia*."* In the same place, he uses the name of *Point Adams*, applied by Gray. Yet not a word of this in the "History of Discovery"!

The exact facts, derived from authentic documents, public and private, in our possession, are as follows :

In the year 1787, Joseph Barrell, a distinguished merchant of Boston, in the State of Massachusetts, projected a voyage of commerce and discovery to the northwest coast of America ; and Samuel Brown, Charles Bulfinch, John Derby, Crowell Hatch, and John M. Pintard, citizens of the United States, became associated with him in the enterprise. Two vessels, the ship *Columbia*, commanded by John Kendrick, and the sloop *Washington* by Robert Gray, were equipped, and provided with suitable cargoes for traffic with the natives, and set sail from Boston in October, 1787. This expedition was regarded with much interest, it being the first attempt from the United States to circumnavigate the globe. The *Columbia* arrived at Nootka Sound the 16th of September, 1788, and the *Washington* soon afterwards. Here they proceeded to collect furs. While on the coast, Captain Gray, in the *Washington*, entered into, and sailed some way up the long-lost Strait of Juan de Fuca, which Martinez, in 1774, had seen, but not entered. Captain Gray was then transferred to the *Columbia*, and proceeded in her to Canton with the furs collected, and at Canton took in a cargo of teas for Boston, Captain Kendrick remaining on the coast in the *Lady Washington*. Thus far, the enterprise had not proved a gainful one to the parties, two of whom, Messrs. Derby and Pintard, disposed of their shares to Messrs. Barrell and Brown ; who, with their remaining associates, decided, nevertheless, to despatch the *Columbia* once again, with Captain Gray, to the northwest coast. He accordingly proceeded thither, and, on the 7th of May, 1792, came in sight of land in latitude $46^{\circ} 58'$, and anchored in what he named *Bulfinch's Harbour*. On the 11th of May he entered a large river ; and, on the 14th, sailed up the same about fourteen miles, and remained in the river until the 21st of May. To this river he gave the name of his ship, and the

* Vol. II. p. 53.

north side of the entrance he called *Cape Hancock*, the south side, *Point Adams*. This is the first entrance and exploration of the River Columbia; the inlet, or bay of which, however, had been seen by Ayala and Heceta, and called by them *Entrada de Heceta*, as we have before stated; and, so far as the discovery and exploration of this river from the sea can confer any claims of sovereignty, those claims, therefore, belong to the United States, both in her own right and in right of Spain. And, although the voyage was unprofitable to its enterprising projectors, it was highly important to the United States, as well by giving rights of discovery, as because it opened the way to a most valuable and productive commerce, which was afterwards pursued by other citizens of the United States.

Of these peculiar facts, more especially the discovery of the Columbia, we gain no distinct idea from the popular English histories of maritime discovery. We cannot believe, that all their suppressions and amplifications are innocent or simple accidents, or allow, that they should be excused by the plea of national vainglory.

This trait is further evinced, by the manner in which the same work just hints at the fact of the Spanish explorations, simultaneous with those of Vancouver, treating them as of no account, and mentioning no names, and then proceeding to say, after giving the history of Vancouver's voyage; "No further knowledge was obtained of the northwest coast of America until 1816." We do not know whether this mode of treating the subject, by which the honor of the explorations of that period is thus almost exclusively assumed for Great Britain, is to be imputed to gross carelessness or wilful misrepresentation. At any rate, it is the reverse of truth; for the voyage of Malaspina in 1791, and that of Galiano and Valdes in 1792, may well compare in dignity and importance with those of Cook and Vancouver.

Malaspina sailed from Cadiz in 1789, in the corvettes *Descubierta* and *Atrevida*, and, having other objects, did not reach Acapulco on his way to the northwest, until February, 1791. He spent a part of that year in surveying the extreme northwest coast in search of the strait supposed to have been discovered by Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado, and in taking the heights of mountains, and the exact position of great points, as well to the north of and near to Nootka Sound, as on the coast of New Spain.

At the suggestion of Malaspina, the Conde de Revillagigedo, Viceroy of New Spain, despatched on another expedition the schooners *Sutil* and *Mejicana*, commanded by Don Dionisio Galiano and Don Cayetano Valdes, to make survey of the coast between Cape Mendocino and Nootka Sound, which, thus far, had been passed by, or only cursorily examined, by other navigators. Galiano and Valdes, like Malaspina, possessed all the qualities of character and science required for this duty. In the course of this voyage, they completed the survey of the strait of Juan de Fuca, sailing all around the island of Quadra and Vancouver, meeting and having the most friendly intercourse with Vancouver on those seas. They also explored the River Columbia. The result of their labors was published in Spain in 1802,* with a learned introduction, ascribed to Navarrete. †

There still remained another tract of coast, between latitudes 51° and 56° N., not satisfactorily explored; and this was done in 1792, by Don Jacinto Caamaño, in the frigate *Aranzazu*, under the orders of the Viceroy of New Spain. ‡

In saying, also, that, except what Vancouver did, nothing further was discovered on the northwest coast, until Kotzebue's Russian voyage in 1816, the author of the "History of Discovery" overlooks other Russian voyages, more especially that of Billings, terminated in 1794, § and the progressive settlements of Russia north of 54° , which Great Britain has recognised by treaty, as well as the United States.

Our contemplated task is finished. We have hastily reviewed the history of northwestern discovery, down to the close of the eighteenth century. What has happened subsequently, and since the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States, belongs to another branch of the subject, which we may, perhaps, discuss at some future time. We close with two or three incidental remarks.

In popular language, and also in the proceedings of Congress, the country belonging to the United States, west of the Rocky Mountains, is called OREGON, although the name of *Columbia* is now very generally applied to the great river by which that country is watered. And it is desirable to continue to call the river by the name of *Columbia*, which pre-

* *Viage de las Goletas Sutil y Mexicana.*

† See Navarrete's *Colección de Viajes*, French Trans. Tom I. p. 393.

‡ Humboldt, *N. Esp.* Tom. I. p. 343.

§ Maltebrun.

serves the memory of Gray's discovery. But the name *Columbia* has other uses in the United States, and elsewhere in America, which render it inconvenient as the designation of the country, of which Oregon seems to be the fixed appellation. We wish that Mr. Worcester, or Mr. Bradford, or some scholar in the Western States, distinguished like those gentlemen for geographical science, would explain the origin of this word *Oregon*, which, so far as we know, is not satisfactorily settled. Mr. Darby, in his "Gazetteer," traces the name to the Spanish *origano*, for the sweet marjoram, growing on the banks of the river. But to this it is a serious objection, that the name *Oregon* does not seem, so far as we remember, to have been in use among the Spaniards. And as there are, and have been no settlers of that nation upon the river, how should their word for wild marjoram come to designate the river? Humboldt speaks of "le mot indien *Origan*.* Of what Indians is it the word? Not of those living on the Columbia. Humboldt also talks of the "*Oré-gan de Mackenzie*."† But Mackenzie did not introduce the word. We find it in Carver's Travels (1763), and that is the oldest authority for it which has met our eye.

In one place, Carver speaks of the "*Oregon, or River of the West*;" in another, of "*The river Oregon, or River of the West, that falls into the Pacific Ocean at the Straits of Anian*." Did Carver derive all his knowledge of this river from the Indians of the Upper Mississippi, among whom he travelled? And if so, is the name of their giving? That is what seems most probable. For how else could he know any thing of it? We have no reason to suppose the inlet of the river had been visited by Europeans prior to Heceta's voyage in 1774, or the mouth of the river itself before the time of Robert Gray, in 1792. Nor do we remember any account of the Rocky Mountains having been crossed by Europeans, and the Columbia seen by them in that direction, so long ago as the time of Carver. But there is nothing improbable in the supposition, that the Indians of the Upper Mississippi and Missouri may have had early intercourse with the Indians beyond the Rocky Mountains, or even visited the Oregon in person, and given it some significant name of their own. Has the word *Oregon* a meaning in the language of any of those Indians?

* Humboldt, p. 342.

† Ibid.

The true test of the first application of the names of great natural objects, like rivers and mountains, is, to find a people in whose language the names are significant. The names of places thus come to be valuable historic monuments. Thus, in Britain, the Celtic, Roman, Saxon, Norman, and English words, which designate localities, all testify to the presence of the successive nations, which have occupied the island. Even the terminations of words do this. *Cester* (castra), is a Roman camp, *stead* or *ham* is of the Saxons. And we should very much like to see a table of the Indian proper names of the geography of the United States, with the true etymology of each, and a reference to the tribe in whose language it is a *speaking* word.

Again. What led Carver to associate together the River Oregon, and the Strait of Anian? Had he read Torquemada's account of the river of Aguilar?

These are questions we would gladly see answered. Our doubts on the subject may arise from want of due investigation on our part; and, if so, rather than to remain ignorant, we choose, in this as in every other case, plainly to confess our ignorance.

One thing more. The fact is now thoroughly established, that the Arctic Sea encompasses the northern extremity of America. The Hudson's Bay Company, for more than a century, was the great obstacle to the proper exploration of the arctic regions of North America. Or, in the pungent language of the Quarterly Review, "From the moment this body of 'Adventurers' was instituted, the *spirit* of adventure died away; and every succeeding effort was palsied by the baneful influence of monopoly, of which the discovery of a northwest passage was deemed the forerunner of destruction." The Northwest Company, after competing awhile with the Hudson's Bay Company, drove the latter to a compromise; and the result has been the union of the two associations, under the corrupt charter of the latter, and the formation of a still more gigantic monopoly, which, like the East India Company in Asia, has gradually extended its odious and usurped dominion over an immense region of North America;—constituting a dangerous nondescript foreign power, intruded among us under cover of the flag of Great Britain, which nation stands ready to avow or disavow its acts, as the tide of circumstances may turn. This Company, we say, — which

we desire at all proper times to hold up to the censure and watchfulness of the people of the United States, — has in later times been shamed into occasional acts of exploration along the Arctic Sea. It professes to have finished that, which Parry, Ross, and Franklin had all but finished. Messrs. Dease and Simpson, of the Hudson's Bay Company, have recently explored the little there was left of unknown betwixt the mouth of Mackenzie's River and Behring's Strait. And we may now aver, — *There is a Strait of Anian*. That is to say, there is a water communication (though more or less obstructed by ice) from the Atlantic to the Pacific, along the arctic side of North America. That being the fact, it might be well, as a matter of historical curiosity, to reconsider the stories of Maldonado, De Fonte, Urdaneta, and Ladrillero, and to compare them with modern observation, so as to judge how far they may thus appear, any of them, to have been founded on actual discovery and knowledge, or to be pure fable. The result of this might be to restore merited honor to another Juan de Fuca.

- ART. IV. — 1. *Traité de Mécanique Céleste*. Par P. S. LAPLACE, Membre de l'Institut National de France et du Bureau des Longitudes. Tome Premier, pp. 368, et Tome Second, pp. 382. An VII. 4to.
2. *Traité de Mécanique Céleste*. Par P. S. LAPLACE, Membre du Sénat Conservateur, de l'Institut National et du Bureau des Longitudes de France ; des Sociétés Royales de Londres et de Gottingue, des Académies des Sciences de Russie, de Danemark, d'Italie, etc. Tome Troisième. Paris, An XI. 1802. pp. 303.
3. *Traité de Mécanique Céleste*. Par M. LAPLACE, Chancelier du Sénat Conservateur, Grand-Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, Membre de l'Institut et du Bureau des Longitudes de France ; des Sociétés Royales de Londres et de Gottingue ; des Académies des Sciences de Russie, de Danemark, d'Italie, etc. Tome Quatrième. An XIII. = 1805. pp. 347.
4. *Traité de Mécanique Céleste*. Par M. LE MARQUIS DE LAPLACE, Pair de France ; Grand Croix de la Légion d'Honneur ; l'un des Quarante de l'Académie Fran-